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WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES IN NEW YORK CITY. RESEARCH REPORT.

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THIS REPORT PROVIDES FACTUAL BACKGROUND ON WHITE-COLLAR EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS FOR MINORITIES AND OTHERS, PARTICULARLY NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS, IN THE NEW YORK CITY AREA. SPECIAL ATTENTION IS GIVEN TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN, REGARDLESS OF MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP. PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF INFORMATION ARE THE 1960 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND THE 1966 EMPLOYER SURVEY BY THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION. RESULTS INDICATE THAT NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS HAVE GAINED A PLACE IN CLERICAL AND TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONS. MINORITY WOMEN FARED BETTER THAN MINORITY MEN. HOWEVER, WOMEN AS A GROUP WERE UNDERREPRESENTED IN ALL FIELDS ABOVE THE CLERICAL LEVEL IN PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT. THE NEED FOR EXPANDED MINORITY EMPLOYMENT IN WHITE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS IS DISCUSSED. PARTICULAR EMPHASIS IS GIVEN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO INCREASE NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN EMPLOYMENT AS MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, AND SALESMEN. (AF)

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Dale L. Hiestand

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WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES IN NEW YORK CITY

I. Purpose of the Report

This report provides a factual background on white collar employment patterns for minorities and others in the New York City area. This analysis centers particularly on white collar employment patterns of Negro and Puerto Rican men and women. Special attention is also given to women, regardless of whether they are members of these minority groups or not. The purpose of the report is to outline the contours of the white collar labor market in New York City in order that efforts to promote more equal employment opportunities might be as productive as possible. The report thus tries to point up where the strategic efforts might be made in an action program.

An expansion of minority employment in white collar occupations is important for three principal reasons: (1) the major remaining occupational inequality facing minorities is at the white collar level; (2) the white collar sector is the most rapidly growing part of the labor force; and (3) the more members of minority groups that can be elevated to white collar jobs, the less will be the competition for blue collar

jobs, increasing the chances for the unemployed to gain employment.

II. Sources of Information

The principal sources of information for this report are: (1) the 1960 Census of Population, which is now almost eight years old, and (2) the 1966 survey of employers by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission using its Form EEO-1. For several reasons, these data are not directly comparable. The Census is collected at homes, and therefore pertains to those living in the city or metropolitan area, regardless of whether they work in or outside these areas. The Commission data are collected through employers, and therefore pertain to those who work in the city or metropolitan area, even if they live elsewhere.

The Census attempts to collect information on all public and private employees, the self employed, and those employed without pay in family enterprises. The Census inadvertently missed some persons, although primarily among poorly educated and blue collar workers. The Commission data pertain only to employees of private firms and organizations. Report forms

were sent to all firms and organizations which might be among those from whom a report could be required by law: business firms with 100 or more employees, business firms and nonprofit enterprises with federal contracts amounting to $50,000 or more and with 50 or more employees, and business firms which had voluntarily joined the Federal Plans for Progress program. Not all covered firms and nonprofit enterprises responded to the request. There was in 1966 a total of 3.5 million employees in New York City, 3.1 million of them in private and nonprofit enterprises. The Commission survey included data on 1.2 million private and nonprofit employees.

The data have other shortcomings. The Census data on employment by occupation and race were not always reported for the city alone. Some Census data were available for New York City and even for its five separate boroughs (counties): Manhattan (New York); Brooklyn (Kings); Queens (Queens); Bronx (Bronx); and Staten Island (Richmond). In other cases, Census data are available only for the New York Standard Metropolitan

Statistical Area (SMSA) which includes New York City plus its four suburban counties in New York State: Nassau and Suffolk (comprising that part of Long Island to the east of Queens and Brooklyn) and Westchester and Rockland (to the north and northwest).

The EEOC data are available for each of the nine counties in the metropolitan area, but the discussion here centers on the city. Because city-wide organizations could report through their head offices, the data for the separate boroughs are not particularly useful and are not presented here.

Data are presented for Negroes, wherever that is possible. In many cases, however, the Census reported data for non-whites, which includes Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, and other non-Caucasians, rather than for Negroes separately. In the New York SMSA, Negroes comprise 94 percent of all nonwhites. Since those of other races tend to have somewhat higher educational, occupational, and income levels, nonwhite data tend to understate slightly the differences which exist between the Negro and the total or white populations.

In several cases, it has been possible to report separately for Puerto Ricans, i.e., those of Puerto Rican birth or

parentage. The Census classifies Puerto Ricans as white, Negro, or other nonwhite, as the case may be, and they are accordingly included on that basis in the data on whites and Negroes or nonwhites. More than 90 percent of the Puerto Ricans in New York are white.

The EEOC form provided for reports on Negroes and those who were Spanish speaking. The latter category includes Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and others of Spanish ancestry. The individuals filling out the forms used their discretion as to just which classification in which to report a Negro who was Spanish-speaking, as well as a person of Puerto Rican or other Spanish extraction who regularly spoke English on the job.

III. Findings

A. Broad Relationships and Trends: 1950 and 1960

The proportion of nonwhite workers in New York City who were in white collar jobs in 1960 - about 25 percent - was about half the proportion for the total labor force - about 50 percent. (See Table 1.) The proportion of nonwhites in the managerial and sales occupations was even smaller as compared to that in the total labor force, the former being

TABLE 1

PERCENT OF TOTAL AND NONWHITE PERSONS EMPLOYED IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY SEX, NEW YORK CITY, 1960

	Employed men and women		Employed men		Employed women	
	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite	Total	Nonwhite
White collar, total	48.0	25.9	42.8	24.0	57.2	28.3
Professional and technical	11.1	6.0	11.0	4.6	11.3	7.8
Managers, officials, proprietors	8.7	3.0	11.5	4.4	3.8	1.2
Clerical and kindred workers	21.2	14.4	12.5	12.5	28.1	16.8
Sales workers	7.0	2.5	7.7	2.5	5.7	2.5
Blue collar, service, etc.	52.0	74.1	57.2	76.0	42.8	71.7

Source: Based on data from U. S. Census of Population 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York PC(1) 34 C.

only one-third the latter. Only in the case of male clerical workers were the proportions approximately equal among both nonwhites and whites.

These patterns also held if the suburbs were included, as Table 2 indicates. For the New York SMSA as a whole, the proportion of Negroes who were in white collar occupations was about half the proportion which prevailed in the labor force as a whole.

Table 2 also indicates that the proportion of Puerto Ricans who were in white collar occupations was somewhat lower than in the case of Negroes (17.6 percent compared to 23.7 percent.) This difference was divided about equally between the professional and related occupations and clerical work. Puerto Ricans are as likely to hold managerial or sales jobs as are Negroes.

While the proportion of Negroes in white collar jobs in 1960 fell short of that which prevailed in the total labor force, Negroes - more particularly Negro women - had improved their position significantly since 1950. (See Table 3.) The proportion of Negro men in white collar occupations remained

TABLE 2

PERCENT OF TOTAL, NEGRO, AND PUERTO RICAN PERSONS EMPLOYED IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY SEX, NEW YORK SMSA, 1960

	Employed men and women			Employed men			Employed women		
	Total	Negro	Puerto Rican	Total	Negro	Puerto Rican	Total	Negro	Puerto Rican
White collar, total	49.5	23.7	17.6	44.9	22.3	17.0	58.0	25.4	18.7
Professional and technical	12.4	5.3	2.3	12.5	4.0	2.1	12.1	6.9	2.7
Managers, officials, and proprietors	9.7	2.5	2.6	13.0	3.7	3.4	3.7	1.0	1.1
Clerical and kindred workers	19.9	13.6	10.0	11.2	12.3	8.6	36.0	15.1	12.6
Sales workers	7.5	2.3	2.7	8.2	2.3	2.9	6.2	2.4	2.4

Source: Based on data from U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, New York, PC(1) 34 D; Subject Reports, Puerto Ricans in United States, PC(2) 1D.

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF TOTAL AND NEGRO PERSONS EMPLOYED IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY SEX, NEW YORK SMSA, 1950 and 1960

Occupation	Total		Negro	
	1960	1950	1960	1950
		Males		
White collar, total	44.9	45.9	22.3	21.4
Professional and technical	12.5	10.6	4.0	3.3
Managers, officials and proprietors	13.0	15.7	3.7	4.9
Clerical workers	11.2	10.9	12.3	10.8
Sales workers	8.2	8.7	2.3	2.4
		Females		
White collar, total	58.0	56.7	25.4	16.1
Professional and technical	12.1	11.8	6.9	5.0
Managers, officials and proprietors	3.7	4.2	1.0	1.1
Clerical workers	36.0	34.6	15.1	8.4
Sales workers	6.2	6.1	2.4	1.6

Source: Based on U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, New York; PC(1) 34 D; 1950, Characteristics of Population, New York; Vol. II, No. 32.

essentially unchanged at just over 20 percent, while the proportion among all males also remained essentially unchanged at about 45 percent. On the other hand, the proportion of Negro women who were in white collar occupations increased from 16 to 25 percent while the proportion among all women workers remained essentially unchanged at not quite 60 percent. The most dramatic change was the fact that the proportion of Negro women who were in clerical occupations increased from 8 to 15 percent.

Another aspect of these findings appears in Table 4. The number of Negro men in each of the white collar occupations increased more rapidly than did the total number of men. As a result, Negro men accounted for 37 percent of the net growth in male white collar employment in the New York SMSA over the decade of the 1950's. In part, of course, this reflects the relatively slow growth in total male employment in the white collar occupations.

Table 4 also shows that the number of Negro women in each of the white collar occupational groups increased more rapidly than did the total number of women. For all white

TABLE 4

CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT IN WHITE COLLAR AND ALL OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, NEGRO AND ALL EMPLOYED MEN AND WOMEN, NEW YORK SMSA, 1950 to 1960

	Percentage change, 1950 to 1960		Negroes as a percent of change in total male employment in occupational group
	All men	Negro men	
All occupations	6.9	47.2	48
White collar, total	4.6	51.4	37
Professional and technical	25.4	75.8	7
Managers, officials and proprietors	-12.0	11.0	a/
Clerical workers	10.7	64.5	47
Sales workers	1.3	40.5	60

	Percentage change, 1950 to 1960		Negroes as a percent of change in total female employment in occupational group
	All women	Negro women	
All occupations	20.9	45.6	28
White collar, total	24.4	90.6	13
Professional and technical	25.7	103.8	22
Managers, officials and proprietors	7.5	27.8	13
Clerical workers	26.1	163.2	19
Sales workers	22.1	116.0	17

a/ Not applicable.

Source: Based on U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, PC(1) 34 C.

collar occupations, the change was 91 percent for Negro women and 24 percent for all women. Because total female employment in these occupations expanded so rapidly, Negro women accounted for only 13 percent of the net growth in female white collar employment in the New York SMSA between 1950 and 1960.

Nonwhites accounted for 14 percent of all employed persons living in New York City in 1960. (See Table 5.) However, they accounted for only 8 percent of the white collar employed. Their proportion came to 9 percent among clerical workers and 8 percent among professionals, but only 5 percent among managerial and sales workers.

For the New York SMSA as a whole, Negroes comprised somewhat smaller percentages of all persons employed in the white collar occupations, although the patterns were similar to those for New York City. (See Table 6.) Puerto Ricans, while making up nearly 5 percent of all employed persons in the metropolitan area, comprised less than 2 percent of all persons employed in white collar occupations. Puerto Ricans were a higher percentage of all clerical workers (2.4 percent),

TABLE 5

NONWHITES AS A PROPORTION OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY SEX, NEW YORK CITY, 1960

Occupation	Total	Nonwhites	Nonwhites as a percent of Total
	(In thousands)		
All employed	3,308	470	14.2
Male	2,102	264	12.6
Female	1,206	206	17.1
White collar, total	1,590	122	7.6
Male	900	63	7.0
Female	690	58	8.4
Professional and technical	368	28	7.7
Male	232	12	5.2
Female	136	16	11.8
Managers, officials and proprietors	288	14	4.9
Male	243	12	4.8
Female	46	3	5.5
Clerical and kindred	702	67	9.0
Male	263	33	12.6
Female	439	34	7.8
Sales workers	231	12	5.0
Male	163	6	3.9
Female	68	5	7.7

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York, PC(1) 34 C.

TABLE 6

NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS AS A PERCENT OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX, NEW YORK SMSA, 1960

Occupation	Negroes as a percent of total	Puerto Ricans as a percent of total
All employed	11.5	4.8
Male	9.6	4.8
Female	15.1	4.7
White collar, total	5.5	1.7
Male	4.8	1.8
Female	6.6	1.5
Professional and technical	5.0	0.9
Male	3.1	0.8
Female	8.6	1.0
Managers, officials and proprietors	2.9	1.3
Male	2.7	1.3
Female	4.1	1.3
Clerical and kindred	7.9	2.4
Male	10.5	3.6
Female	6.4	1.6
Sales workers	3.6	1.7
Male	2.7	1.7
Female	5.8	1.8

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, New York, PC(1) 34 D, and Subject Reports, Puerto Ricans in the United States, PC(2) 1 D.

but comprised less than 1 percent of those in professional and technical positions. These patterns generally held for both Puerto Rican men and women.

As a result of the more rapid increase in the number of Negroes in the white collar occupations between 1950 and 1960, they comprised a larger proportion of both men and women in each of the major occupational groups in the latter year. (See Table 7.) The increase was most marked in the case of Negro female professionals and Negro male clerical workers. The only situation in which Negroes had and continued to hold a position of at least equality with the white labor force was among male clerical workers.

New York City, as the center of the major metropolitan area of the nation, has four boroughs which individually are as large as major cities, and its fifth borough is the size of a small city. However, there were no marked differences among the boroughs, in terms of the relative importance of white collar occupations among the nonwhite and the total labor force living in them, as Table 8 shows. The residents of Queens were somewhat more likely to be in white

TABLE 7

NEGROES AS A PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY SEX, NEW YORK SMSA, 1950 AND 1960

Occupational group	Negro males as percent of total males employed		Negro females as percent of total females employed	
	1960	1950	1960	1950
All employed	9.6	7.0	15.1	12.6
White collar, total	4.8	3.3	6.6	3.5
Professional and technical	3.1	2.2	8.6	5.4
Managers, officials, and proprietors	2.7	2.2	4.1	3.4
Clerical workers	10.5	7.0	6.4	3.1
Sales workers	2.7	2.0	5.8	3.3

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, New York, PC(1) - 34 D, Table 122; 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of Population, Part 32, New York, Table 77.

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AND NONWHITES EMPLOYED IN THE WHITE COLLAR SECTOR, BY COUNTIES OF RESIDENCE IN NEW YORK CITY, 1960

	New York City, Total	Bronx	Brooklyn-Kings	Manhattan-New York	Queens	Staten Island-Richmond
Total	48.1	45.7	45.4	47.0	53.3	48.9
Nonwhite	25.9	28.8	22.6	25.4	31.7	23.0
Total Male	42.8	39.6	40.0	43.3	47.1	40.7
Nonwhite Male	24.0	25.4	20.1	24.8	29.0	19.7
Total Female	57.2	57.0	55.6	52.3	64.9	64.0
Nonwhite Female	28.3	33.1	25.9	26.2	35.2	26.8

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York PC(1) 34 C.

collar occupations, but the differences were not great. The range among the boroughs from the lowest to the highest percentage in white collar jobs was only from 45 to 53 percent for the total labor force, 40 to 47 percent for the male labor force, and 52 to 65 percent for the female labor force. The ranges were similarly limited in the case of nonwhites, 23 to 32 percent for the total, 20 to 29 percent for men, and 26 to 35 percent for women.

However, as Table 9 shows, nonwhite men and women comprised 23 and 25 percent, respectively, of all male and female workers living in Manhattan, with successively smaller percentages among those workers living in Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island. This pattern among the boroughs also tended to prevail for their white collar workers.

In the various occupational groups, there were some exceptions to this pattern. For instance, Negro women comprised an exceptionally high proportion of the female professional workers living in the Bronx, Queens, and Richmond. Similarly, Negro men comprised an exceptionally high percentage of all men in clerical occupations who live in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Queens.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF NONWHITES AMONG PERSONS EMPLOYED IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY SEX AND COUNTY OF RESIDENCE IN NEW YORK CITY, 1960

	New York City		Bronx		Brooklyn-Kings		Manhattan-New York		Queens		Staten Island-Richmond	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All employed	12.6	17.1	9.8	13.7	12.0	17.4	22.5	25.0	7.3	10.4	3.1	5.8
White collar, total	7.0	8.4	6.3	8.0	6.0	8.1	12.9	12.5	4.5	5.7	1.5	2.3
Professional and technical	5.2	11.8	4.5	14.5	4.7	12.5	8.4	11.5	4.2	10.5	2.6	6.1
Managers, officials and proprietors	4.8	5.5	5.4	6.9	3.8	4.5	8.5	6.6	2.7	3.6	0.5	0.9
Clerical workers	12.6	7.8	10.4	7.1	10.8	7.5	24.0	13.8	8.4	4.9	1.6	1.5
Sales workers	3.9	7.7	2.5	4.9	2.9	7.2	10.8	15.9	1.9	3.8	0.8	0.5

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New York PC(1) 34 C.

B. Detailed Occupational Patterns, 1960

As a result of the progress in the past, Negro men and women comprised a greater proportion of those in a few white collar occupations than they comprised among all employed men and women in the New York City area in 1960,as Table 10 indicates. Of over fifty detailed white collar occupations, Negroes comprised an unusually high proportion of the men in four occupations and of the women in four occupations. For Negro males, these occupations were, in order, social, welfare and recreation workers; medical and dental technicians; mail carriers; and musicians and music teachers. For Negro females, the high-percentage occupations were dietitians and nutritionists, social welfare and recreation workers, professional nurses, and medical and dental technicians.

Of more significance for public policy are those white collar occupations with quite low percentages of Negroes employed. In designating these occupations, a conservative criterion is used: occupations in which the percentages of Negroes employed were less than one-half of their percentage in all white collar occupations. For males, the criterion is

TABLE 10

WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS WITH A HIGH [a] PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES, NEW YORK SMSA, 1960

Occupation	Negroes as Percent of Total Employed in Occupation
MALE	
All occupations	9.6
White collar, total	4.8
Social, welfare and recreational workers	19.1
Medical and dental technicians	17.1
Mail carriers	12.8
Musicians and music teachers	9.8
FEMALE	
All occupations	15.1
White collar	6.6
Dietitians and nutritionists	35.7
Social, welfare and recreational workers	23.6
Nurses, professional	17.5
Medical and dental technicians	16.2

a/ "High" is defined as greater than the proportion which Negro men or women comprised of the total number of employed men or women, respectively, in the New York SMSA.

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, New York, PC(1), 34 D.

one-half of 4.8 percent, or 2.4 percent; for females, one-half of 6.6 percent, or 3.3 percent.

Table 11 lists those occupations in which very low percentages of Negro men or women were employed in the New York SMSA in 1960. Of more than 50 white collar occupations, 33 had a very low percentage of Negro males employed, and 15 occupations are so designated for females. As demonstrated in earlier parts of this report, Negro females have made a greater penetration into white collar employment than have Negro males.

In general, the table shows that there were relatively few Negro men employed as managers, officials, and proprietors or salesmen in many industries or as engineers, architects, lawyers, pharmacists, artists, dentists, social scientists, designers and draftsmen, high school teachers, and physicians and surgeons. Quite low percentages of Negro women were found among managers, officials and proprietors in wholesale and retail trade; authors, editors, and reporters; college presidents, professors, and instructors; lawyers; artists; designers and draftsmen; therapists; sales workers in insurance

TABLE 11

WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS WITH A QUITE LOW PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES, NEW YORK SMSA, 1960

Occupation	Negroes as Percentage of All Men or Women Employed in Occupation
Male	
All employed	9.6
White collar, total	4.8
Managers, officials, proprietors, self employed, manufacturing	0.2
Salesmen and sales clerks, manufacturing	0.7
Engineers, miscellaneous	0.7
Salesmen and sales clerks, wholesale trade	0.8
Engineers, aeronautical	0.9
Architects	1.0
Managers, officials, proprietors, self employed, wholesale trade	1.0
Managers, officials, proprietors, salaried, manufacturing	1.0
Engineers, mechanical	1.1
Lawyers and judges	1.1
College presidents, professors, and instructors	1.2
Engineers, electrical	1.3

TABLE 11 (Continued)

Authors, editors, and reporters	1.3
Accountants and auditors	1.3
Insurance agents, brokers and underwriters	1.4
Pharmacists	1.5
Salesmen and sales clerks, miscellaneous industries	1.7
Engineers, civil	1.7
Managers, officials, proprietors, self employed, construction	1.8
Managers, officials, proprietors, self employed, total	1.9
Managers, officials, proprietors, self employed, retail	1.9
Artists and art teachers	2.1
Dentists	2.1
Social scientists	2.1
Managers, officials, proprietors, salaried, wholesale and retail trade	2.1
Designers and draftsmen	2.2
Teachers, secondary	2.3
Physicians and surgeons	2.4
Managers, officials, proprietors, salaried, finance, insurance and real estate	2.4

TABLE 11 (Continued)

Managers, officials, proprietors, salaried, misc. industries	2.4
Managers, officials, proprietors, self employed, eating and drinking places	2.4
FEMALE	
All employed	15.1
White collar, total	6.6
Authors, editors, and reporters	1.5
College presidents, professors, instructors	1.7
Lawyers and judges	2.1
Managers, officials, proprietors, self employed, wholesale and retail trade	2.4
Artists and art teachers	2.5
Designers and draftsmen	2.6
Therapists and healers	2.6
Secretaries	2.6
Managers, officials, proprietors	
salaried, total	2.8
salaried, wholesale and retail trade	2.9
salaried, misc. industries	2.9
Bookkeepers	2.9
Sales workers, insurance and real estate	3.1
Social scientists, n.e.c.	3.3

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, New York, PC(1), 34 D.

and real estate; and social scientists. It is particularly significant to note how few Negro women there were among secretaries and bookkeepers.

C. White Collar Employment, Income, and Race in 1959

Even when they attain white collar occupations, Negroes do not ordinarily obtain the income levels which whites obtain at these levels. As Table 12 indicates, nonwhite families in which the head of the family was employed in managerial occupations in 1959 had an average income only 55 percent of that of all families from the same occupational group. The comparison came to 63 percent in families headed by sales workers and 71 percent in those headed by professional and technical workers. Among families headed by clerical workers, nonwhites came the closest to the average income for all families headed by such workers, but even here there was a discrepancy of 18 percent.

These discrepancies reflect a mixture of forces. Nonwhites undoubtedly are found in greater proportions in the lowest paying occupations within each major occupational group. Even within a given occupation, such as that of stenographer

TABLE 12

MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES, CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY AND COLOR, NEW YORK SMSA, 1959

Occupational Group of Head of Family	MEDIAN INCOME		
	All Families	Nonwhite Families	Nonwhite as Percent of Total
Professional and technical	$9,596	$6,832	71
Managers, officials, proprietors			
Salaried	9,453	5,242	55
Self-employed	9,735	5,365	55
Clerical	6,472	5,303	82
Sales workers	7,893	4,985	63

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Detailed Characteristics, New York PC(1) 34 D.

or cashier, nonwhites probably tend to be employed by those firms with lower pay scales. In an unknown proportion of cases, nonwhites may receive lower pay than whites, even when performing similar jobs for the same employer.

Other factors may be at work. Nonwhite families more often are headed by a woman than are white families, and are therefore subject to a variety of male-female differentials similar to the white-nonwhite differentials outlined above. It is not clear whether the white or the nonwhite families drawn from white collar groups are likely to have higher proportions of families with more than one income earner or with more unemployment, intermittent employment, and part time work on the part of those who do work.

Regardless of these unknowns, there is no doubt that Negroes tend to earn less than whites, even when they do attain white collar employment.

D. White Collar Employment, Education, and Race in 1960

Education, of course, is an important determinant of whether a person can obtain white collar employment. This plays some part in explaining the relatively fewer nonwhites and Puerto Ricans who are in white collar occupations in the

New York area. As Table 13 shows, about 40 percent of all males and all females ages 14 or more in the area had at least a high school education in 1960 but only about 30 percent of the nonwhite males and females and 14 percent of the Puerto Rican males and females.

These figures take on special significance, when they are compared to the proportions of the total, nonwhite, and Puerto Rican labor force in the New York area which were in white collar occupations. As Table 13 shows, the proportions of men and women who were in white collar occupations were higher than the proportions which had completed high school for the total and for Puerto Ricans. Contrariwise, relatively fewer Negro men and women were in white collar occupations than had graduated from high school.

This discrepancy was particularly marked in the case of women. While 33 percent of the nonwhite women had graduated from high school, only 26 percent were in white collar occupations. On the other hand, although only 41 percent of all women in the New York area had high school diplomas, 58 percent of those who were employed were in white collar occupations.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AGED 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA COMPARED TO PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED PERSONS AGED 14 YEARS AND OVER IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS, TOTAL VS. NONWHITES AND PUERTO RICANS, BY SEX, NEW YORK SMSA, 1960 and 1950

	Percentage with High School Diploma or more		Percentage Employed in White Collar Occupations	
	1960	1950	1960	1950
Male				
Total	40.3	36.4	44.9	45.9
Nonwhite	29.1	23.1	23.1	22.3
Puerto Rican	13.8	11.3	17.0	17.3
Female				
Total	41.2	36.5	58.0	56.7
Nonwhite	33.1	24.9	26.1	16.5
Puerto Rican	14.2	10.9	18.7	12.5

Source: Based on data from U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, New York, PC(1) 34 D; Subject Reports, Puerto Ricans in United States, PC(2) 1 D; 1950, Characteristics of the Population, New York, Vol. II, No. 32; Vol. IV. Special Reports, Part 3, Chapter D. Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States.

These patterns prevailed in 1950 as well, with one notable exception. Formerly, the proportion of nonwhite men who were high school graduates was the same as the proportion in white collar occupations. Their educational gains between 1950 and 1960 did not produce significant occupational gains, however.

While there are certain noncomparabilities here -- the education figures refer to the population aged 14 and over, but the occupational figures refer only to those who were employed -- the import is clear. It is difficult to conjecture any explanation for these relationships without assigning a large role to discrimination on the basis of color. Puerto Ricans, who are largely white, had a pattern similar to that for whites, even though they had far smaller proportions with a high school education or in white collar occupations.

E. Occupational Patterns Within Industries, 1966

Broad occupational patterns provide only limited guidance for activities to promote more equal employment opportunities. Firms are most easily identified by their industrial affiliation. It is precisely to identify the occupational

patterns for minority group employment within industries that the EEO-1 data were collected by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from private profit seeking and non-profit enterprises in 1966.

In the New York metropolitan area, including New York City and the four suburban counties of Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester, and Rockland, reports were received from 5,212 establishments. These enterprises, as Table 14 shows, employed a total of 951,156 white collar workers, who comprised 65.0 percent of all their employees. Negroes and Puerto Ricans comprised 10 and 6 percent, respectively of the total number of workers in the metropolitan area covered in the reports, and 6 and 3 percent, respectively of the white collar workers. These proportions, which cover only private employment in the larger enterprises, were somewhat different from those for all employment reported in the 1960 Census and discussed earlier. How much of these differences is due to the lack of comparability of the data, and whether there are any trends, cannot be ascertained.

In the city proper, Negroes and Puerto Ricans comprised slightly higher proportions of all covered employees and of all white collar workers in the 1966 survey. Negroes had come

TABLE 14

WHITE COLLAR AND TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN REPORTING FIRMS IN NEW YORK CITY AND METROPOLITAN AREA, 1966

	New York City			New York SMSA		
	All Employees	Negroes	Puerto Ricans	All Employees	Negroes	Puerto Ricans
Officials and managers	133,348	2,336	1,453	155,050	2,571	1,557
Professionals	113,637	3,090	1,822	144,730	3,626	2,019
Technicians	52,083	5,581	2,056	73,420	6,648	2,257
Sales workers	104,483	4,107	2,135	118,862	4,345	2,208
Clerical workers	407,079	35,732	17,866	459,094	37,517	18,352
Total white collar	810,630	50,846	25,332	951,156	54,707	26,393
All employees	1,216,656	127,922	76,549	1,464,323	146,490	83,577
	Percentage Distribution					
Officials and managers	100.0	1.8	1.1	100.0	1.7	1.0
Professionals	100.0	2.7	1.6	100.0	2.5	1.4
Technicians	100.0	10.7	4.0	100.0	9.1	3.1
Sales workers	100.0	3.9	2.0	100.0	3.7	1.9
Clerical workers	100.0	8.8	4.4	100.0	8.2	4.0
Total white collar	100.0	6.3	3.1	100.0	5.8	2.8
All employees	100.0	10.5	6.3	100.0	10.0	5.7

Source: EEO-1 reports.

close to achieving proportionate equality in the clerical occupations in the city, as Table 14 indicates, and were more than proportionately represented among technicians. They comprised 8.8 percent of all clerical employees and 10.7 percent of all technicians, in comparison to 10.5 percent of total employment. Puerto Ricans had also made their major gains into clerical and technician occupations, but still were considerably short of equality. They comprised 4.0 percent of technicians and 4.4 percent of clerical workers, in comparison to 6.3 percent of all employees.

Both Negroes and Puerto Ricans fell very far short of proportionate equality in the managerial, professional, and sales occupations. In each of these occupational groups, both Negroes and Puerto Ricans had much less than half the number which would prevail in a proportionate distribution.

Negro and Puerto Rican men tended to be far less well represented in white collar occupations relative to other men than were minority group women relative to other women. In part, this reflects the fact that most men in white collar occupations were managers, professionals, and salesmen, where

minority groups tended to be most underrepresented. In the case of Negro men, however, they tended to be more seriously underrepresented even in clerical and technical occupations, as Table 15 shows.

White collar employment in New York City is spread across many industries, with the largest concentrations in finance, retail trade, insurance, communications, and wholesale trade, as Table 16 shows. Wholesale trade, as Table 17 indicates, is the only industry in this group which employs a quite low proportion of Negroes. Communications is noteworthy for the extremely small proportion of Puerto Ricans among its employees.

An important factor in any effort to promote expanded minority employment would be the total number of white collar workers per firm. Statistical analysis reveals, however, no connection between the average size of the white collar work force in an industry and the extent to which firms rely on Negroes and Puerto Ricans as white collar workers. The largest number of white collar workers per establishment were in the communications, utilities and sanitary services, educational services, and tobacco manufacturing industries.

TABLE 15

NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS AS A PERCENT OF EMPLOYMENT IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, BY SEX, NEW YORK CITY, 1966

	Negro		Puerto Rican	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Officials and managers	1.2	4.9	1.1	1.1
Professional	1.1	8.5	1.1	2.5
Technicians	5.8	20.2	3.8	4.3
Sales workers	1.8	7.6	1.3	3.3
Office and clerical	6.9	9.6	5.6	3.9
Total white collar	3.1	9.6	2.5	3.6
All employees	8.3	13.8	6.3	6.1

Source: EEO-1 reports.

TABLE 16

WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION AND PATTERNS IN NEW YORK CITY, 1966

Industry	Number of White collar employees	Number of establish-ments	White collar workers per establishment	White collar as percent of all employees
Mining	6,982	20	349.1	98.7
Contract construction	7,303	147	49.7	42.2
Food & kindred prod. mfg.	19,176	132	145.3	50.2
Tobacco mfg.	5,014	9	557.1	98.1
Textile prod. mfg.	5,342	83	64.4	56.2
Apparel mfg.	6,880	153	45.0	29.9
Lumber & wood prod. mfg.	403	5	80.6	59.3
Furniture & fixtures mfg.	1,565	21	74.5	27.1
Paper & allied prod. mfg.	6,058	65	93.2	50.2
Printing and publishing	29,600	147	201.4	61.8
Chemicals & allied prod. mfg.	36,606	148	247.3	74.9
Petroleum & petrol. prod. mfg.	3,223	11	293.0	96.6
Rubber & plastic prod. mfg.	2,087	15	139.1	55.4
Leather products mfg.	770	31	24.8	13.9
Stone, clay, and glass prod.	1,202	22	54.6	39.5
Primary metals mfg.	6,644	45	147.6	60.6
Fabricated metals mfg.	4,715	63	74.8	34.5
Machinery mfg. (non-electrical)	9,486	69	137.5	51.9
Electronics mfg.	19,280	120	160.7	56.3
Transportation equipment mfg.	1,988	28	71.0	39.4
Instruments & related prod.	5,600	41	136.6	42.7
Misc. mfg.	2,476	55	45.0	23.4
Transportation	51,877	257	201.9	41.3
Communications	69,043	32	2,157.6	77.5
Utilities & sanitary services	14,382	12	1,198.5	50.1

TABLE 16 (Continued)

Industry	Number of White collar employees	Number of establish-ments	White collar workers per establishment	White collar as percent of all employees
Wholesale trade	62,034	611	101.5	84.6
Building materials sales	362	3	120.7	67.2
Retail trade	94,934	325	292.1	67.3
Finance	112,855	352	320.6	95.1
Insurance	73,015	216	338.0	95.8
Real estate	1,568	34	46.1	28.7
Personal services	5,418	76	71.3	24.8
Business services	43,241	265	163.2	73.7
Repair services	1,639	12	136.6	32.0
Motion pictures, amusements	6,674	73	91.4	65.7
Medical services	38,149	103	370.4	58.8
Legal services	4,881	25	195.2	99.6
Educational services	15,790	26	607.3	82.2
Misc. services	32,003	192	166.7	89.9
Total a/	810,630	4,249	190.8	66.6

a/ Includes one agricultural establishment not shown separately.

Source: EEO-1 reports.

TABLE 17

NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS AS A PERCENT OF ALL WHITE COLLAR WORKERS, BY INDUSTRY, NEW YORK CITY, 1966

	Industry	Sum	Negro	Puerto Rican
1.	Primary metals mfg.	3.5	1.7	1.8
2.	Stone, clay, and glass mfg.	3.6	1.7	1.9
3.	Utilities and sanitary services	3.8	2.7	1.1
4.	Real estate	4.0	3.2	0.8
5.	Petroleum and petroleum prod.mfg.	4.0	2.8	1.2
6.	Legal services	4.0	2.1	1.9
7.	Mining	4.1	2.2	1.9
8.	Transportation equipment mfg.	4.3	2.3	2.0
9.	Tobacco mfg.	4.7	2.5	2.2
10.	Wholesale trade	4.9	2.8	2.1
11.	Chemicals and allied prod. mfg.	5.0	2.4	2.6
12.	Food and kindred prod. mfg.	5.0	3.1	1.9
13.	Paper and allied prod. mfg.	5.1	2.4	2.7
14.	Contract construction	5.2	2.2	3.0
15.	Lumber and wood prod. mfg.	5.5	2.0	3.5
16.	Machinery mfg. (non-electrical)	5.6	2.8	2.8
17.	Electronics mfg.	5.7	3.7	2.0
18.	Printing and publishing	5.7	3.3	2.4
19.	Furniture and fixtures mfg.	5.9	3.2	2.7
20.	Motion pictures, amusements, recreation	6.3	3.7	2.6
21.	Instruments and related prod.mfg.	6.4	3.5	2.9
22.	Fabricated metal mfg.	6.6	3.0	3.6
23.	Transportation	6.7	2.6	4.1
24.	Rubber and plastic prod. mfg.	6.6	3.7	2.9
25.	Textile products mfg.	7.4	3.9	3.5
26.	Building materials sales	8.3	5.5	2.8
27.	Insurance	8.6	5.7	2.9
28.	Finance	9.6	5.5	4.1
29.	Misc. services	10.0	6.6	3.4
30.	Misc. mfg.	10.1	5.3	4.8
31.	Apparel mfg.	10.5	6.5	4.0
32.	Business services	10.8	7.2	3.6
33.	Educational services	11.3	7.9	3.4
34.	Repair services	12.0	6	5.4
35.	Retail trade	12.8		3.8

TABLE 17 (Continued)

Industry	Sum	Negro	Puerto Rican
36. Communications	13.1	12.0	1.1
37. Leather products mfg.	14.4	6.5	7.9
38. Personal services	16.4	9.6	6.8
39. Medical services	24.5	18.8	5.7
Standard	4.6	3.1	1.5
All industries a/	9.4	6.3	3.1

a/ Includes one agricultural establishment not shown separately.

Source: EEO-1 reports.

Both Negroes and Puerto Ricans comprised relatively large proportions of the white collar workers in educational institutions and quite small proportions in utilities and sanitary services. Very few Puerto Ricans were employed as white collar workers in communications and very few Negroes were in the offices of tobacco manufacturing companies.

The proportion that white collar employees comprise of all workers in a given industry usually depends on the nature of the industry. In New York City, however, establishments formally listed in, say, a heavy industry may have very high proportions of white collar workers simply because they are headquarters or sales offices. This clearly seems to be the case, for instance, for the tobacco manufacturing, mining, and agricultural industries, and undoubtedly affects the data for many other industries, but to an unknown extent.

Industries in the New York City area differ greatly in the extent to which they rely on Negroes and Puerto Ricans as white collar workers, as Table 17 shows. Out of 39 industries, 8 employed quite low proportions 1/ of minority

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1/ The standard for "quite low" proportions of minority group employment used in this section of this paper is less than half the proportion which minorities comprise of a given class of workers in all industries. In each table, the entries for industries which employ "quite low" proportions of a minority group are underlined.

group workers in white collar jobs. Among these were only two industries -- utilities, including sanitary services, and petroleum and petroleum products manufacturing -- which employed very few Negroes as well as very few Puerto Ricans. Five others -- primary metals manufacturing; stone, clay and glass manufacturing; legal services; mining; and transportation equipment manufacturing -- employed quite low proportions of Negroes but nearly average proportions of Puerto Ricans as white collar workers. The remaining industry, real estate, had very few Puerto Ricans but nearly an average proportion of Negroes among its white collar workers. There were, in addition, ten other industries in which only Negroes comprised a quite low proportion, and one other in which only Puerto Ricans comprised a quite low proportion. The latter industry -- communications -- is notable because it employs so many Negroes but so few Puerto Ricans among its white collar workers.

For these reasons, it must be concluded that variations in employment patterns within New York City are not so much due to particular industry patterns. They are due firstly to different patterns at various occupational levels and

secondly to differences among firms or establishments within a given industry. The important policy implications of this point will be noted later.

As Table 18 indicates, there was some tendency for industries to be consistent in terms of the relative proportions of Negroes among employees in each of the five white collar occupational groups, ranging from managerial to clerical. Quite low percentages of Negroes were found in all five occupational sub-groups in three industries: primary metals, paper and allied products, and chemicals and allied products manufacturing. Quite low percentages of Negroes were also found in four out of five white collar occupational sub-groups in eight other industries.

In the case of Puerto Ricans, the patterns were not quite as consistent among the various white collar sub-groups. Table 19 shows that in only two industries, utilities and communications, did Puerto Ricans comprise a quite low proportion in all five white collar sub-groups. In no other industry did Puerto Ricans comprise an exceptionally low proportion in more than three of the five occupational groups. A most

TABLE 18

NEGROES AS A PERCENT OF WORKERS IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN NEW YORK CITY, 1966

Industry	White Collar, total	Officials and Managers	Profes-sionals	Techni-cians	Sales	Clerical
1. Stone, clay & glass prod. mfg.	1.7	0.0	*	*	0.0	3.7
2. Primary metals mfg.	1.7	0.6	0.6	1.3	0.0	2.9
3. Lumber & wood prod. mfg.	2.0	*	*	*	2.7	2.5
4. Legal services	2.1	0.0	0.5	*	*	3.0
5. Contract construction	2.2	0.9	0.7	3.1	2.2	3.6
6. Mining	2.2	0.1	0.1	*	0.7	4.2
7. Transportation equipment mfg.	2.3	1.2	0.7	4.6	0.0	3.2
8. Paper and allied prod. mfg.	2.4	0.3	0.2	5.3	0.8	4.2
9. Chemicals & allied prod. mfg.	2.4	0.5	1.0	4.5	0.7	4.3
10. Tobacco mfg.	2.5	0.4	3.0	*	1.6	4.2
11. Transportation	2.6	1.8	0.5	2.5	1.9	3.7
12. Utilities & sanitary services	2.7	0.9	0.7	1.4	0.7	5.1
13. Machinery equipment mfg.	2.8	0.4	1.2	1.8	0.1	5.0
14. Wholesale trade	2.8	0.8	0.7	3.3	1.2	4.9
15. Petroleum and petrol. prod. mfg.	2.8	0.2	0.1	0.8	*	5.2
16. Fabricated metals mfg.	3.0	1.7	0.1	7.3	0.5	4.6
17. Food and kindred prod. mfg.	3.1	0.7	1.7	5.8	2.1	5.5
18. Real estate	3.2	1.6	2.5	3.6	*	4.3
19. Furniture and fixtures mfg.	3.2	1.7	*	*	0.0	5.5
20. Printing and publishing	3.3	0.9	1.4	9.0	1.0	5.0
21. Instruments & rel. prod. mfg.	3.5	1.1	1.7	4.3	0.0	6.3
22. Electronics mfg.	3.7	1.2	1.0	8.5	0.2	5.8
23. Motion pictures, amusements	3.7	0.7	4.9	4.1	2.4	4.0
24. Rubber and plastic prod. mfg.	3.7	1.1	0.8	9.2	0.0	6.3
25. Textile prod. mfg.	3.9	0.8	0.3	0.9	0.5	6.7
26. Misc. mfg.	5.3	3.8	*	6.5	1.1	7.7
27. Finance	5.5	0.6	0.7	5.4	0.4	7.1
28. Building material sales	5.5	*	*	*	0.9	10.8

TABLE 18 (Continued)

Industry	White Collar total	Officials and Managers	Profes-sionals	Techni-cians	Sales	Clerical
29. Insurance	5.7	1.8	1.1	3.5	0.9	7.5
30. Leather products mfg.	6.5	2.6	*	*	*	11.9
31. Apparel mfg.	6.5	2.2	2.6	4.6	0.3	13.2
32. Repair services	6.6	4.2	0.8	*	8.1	8.0
33. Misc. services	6.6	1.7	4.4	6.3	9.5	10.7
34. Business services	7.2	1.7	1.4	8.9	0.4	10.5
35. Educational services	7.9	5.0	2.8	15.0	*	14.2
36. Retail trade	9.0	3.3	2.6	4.9	7.4	15.3
37. Personal services	9.6	4.9	1.7	5.5	33.0	3.9
38. Communications	12.0	1.9	0.9	2.4	1.1	19.4
39. Medical services	18.8	9.3	13.3	25.2	*	18.6
Standard used	3.1	0.9	1.3	5.3	1.9	4.4
All industries a/	6.3	1.8	2.7	10.7	3.9	8.8

* Less than 100 workers in all in this particular industry and occupational group.

a/ Includes one agricultural establishment not shown separately.

Source: EEO-1 Reports.

TABLE 19

PUERTO RICANS AS A PERCENT OF WORKERS IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN NEW YORK CITY, BY INDUSTRY, 1966

Industry	White Collar, total	Officials and Managers	Profes-sionals	Techni-cians	Sales	Clerical
1. Real estate	0.8	1.6	0.4	0.9	*	0.6
2. Utilities & sanitary services	1.1	0.3	0.7	1.4	0.0	1.6
3. Communications	1.1	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.1	1.7
4. Petroleum	1.2	0.6	0.5	0.8	*	1.8
5. Primary metals mfg.	1.8	0.6	1.4	2.4	1.1	2.5
6. Stone, clay & glass prod. mfg.	1.9	0.8	*	*	0.0	2.8
7. Legal services	1.9	0.0	0.3	*	*	2.7
8. Mining	1.9	0.3	0.9	*	0.3	3.2
9. Food & kindred prod. mfg.	1.9	0.7	1.1	5.6	1.1	3.2
10. Transportation equipment mfg.	2.0	2.0	0.7	3.1	0.0	2.4
11. Electronics mfg.	2.0	0.7	1.0	4.9	1.0	2.6
12. Wholesale trade	2.1	0.7	1.1	1.3	0.9	3.7
13. Tobacco mfg.	2.2	0.6	0.0	*	1.5	3.7
14. Printing & publishing	2.4	1.0	0.3	3.1	0.5	4.1
15. Motion pictures, amusements	2.6	2.3	2.0	0.7	1.1	3.3
16. Chemicals & allied prod. mfg.	2.6	1.0	1.4	3.4	0.7	4.6
17. Paper & allied prod. mfg.	2.7	1.2	0.5	10.2	0.4	3.9
18. Furniture & fixtures mfg.	2.7	1.7	*	*	1.2	4.2
19. Building materials sales	2.8	*	*	*	4.2	2.5
20. Machinery mfg. (non-electrical)	2.8	1.7	1.3	2.1	0.8	4.3
21. Instruments & related prod. mfg.	2.9	0.7	1.2	4.0	0.5	5.0
22. Insurance	2.9	0.8	0.9	1.5	0.7	3.7
23. Rubber & plastic prod. mfg.	2.9	2.0	0.6	9.2	0.0	4.1
24. Contract construction	3.0	1.6	2.4	4.6	0.5	3.7
25. Educational services	3.4	1.4	1.5	4.6	*	6.8
26. Misc. services	3.4	0.4	2.3	4.1	4.7	5.1

TABLE 19 (Continued)

Industry	White Collar, total	Officials and Managers	Profes-sionals	Techni-cians	Sales	Clerical
27. Textile prod. mfg.	3.5	1.3	2.4	2.6	0.6	5.5
28. Lumber & wood prod. mfg.	3.5	*	*	*	1.8	5.4
29. Fabricated metal prod. mfg.	3.6	1.5	2.5	7.9	0.5	5.1
30. Business services	3.6	0.9	1.7	6.6	0.5	4.8
31. Retail trade	3.8	1.6	1.6	3.7	3.7	5.5
32. Apparel mfg.	4.0	2.1	1.7	6.9	0.1	7.3
33. Finance	4.1	0.8	1.2	3.9	0.4	5.1
34. Transportation	4.1	2.0	1.6	2.0	3.0	5.9
35. Misc. manufacturing	4.8	3.8	*	6.5	0.9	7.0
36. Repair services	5.4	2.5	2.5	*	5.7	6.7
37. Medical services	5.7	2.7	4.8	5.8	*	7.8
38. Personal services	6.8	4.7	5.0	*	2.0	8.9
39. Leather products mfg.	7.9	8.1	*	*	*	9.8
Standard used	1.5	0.5	0.8	2.0	1.0	2.2
All industries a/	3.1	1.1	1.6	4.0	2.0	4.4

* Less than 100 workers in all in this particular industry and occupational group.

a/ Includes one agricultural establishment not shown separately.

Source: EEO-1 reports.

striking fact is the broad range of industries in which Puerto Ricans comprised quite low percentages of sales personnel.

It was noted earlier that industries which have high proportions of Negroes in white collar occupations also tend to employ high proportions of Puerto Ricans in the same occupations. As Table 20 suggests, a similar pattern prevailed as between minority group men and women. Wherever Negro men comprised a small proportion of male white collar workers, Negro women also tended to comprise a small proportion of female white collar workers, and similarly for Puerto Ricans.

In general, of course, minority group men comprised a lower proportion of the male white collar workers in an industry than minority group women of the female white collar workers. In a significant number of industries, however, the relevant percentage was higher for minority group men than women. Indeed, among the clerical workers of most industries, male Puerto Ricans were a greater proportion of the male workers than Puerto Rican women were of the female workers. A similar pattern held among Negroes. However, in the few industries which employ the bulk of clerical workers, Negro

TABLE 20

NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS AS A PERCENT OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS, BY SEX AND INDUSTRY, NEW YORK CITY, 1966

		Negro		Puerto Rican	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
1.	Primary metals mfg.	1.5	2.0	1.5	2.2
2.	Stone, clay & glass mfg.	1.2	2.7	1.7	2.4
3.	Utilities & sanitary services	1.6	6.8	0.9	1.7
4.	Real estate	2.8	3.6	1.0	0.5
5.	Petroleum & petrol. prod. mfg.	3.3	2.1	1.1	1.5
6.	Legal services	2.3	2.0	1.7	2.1
7.	Mining	1.5	3.5	1.4	2.9
8.	Transportation equip. mfg.	2.2	2.5	1.8	2.3
9.	Tobacco mfg.	2.2	3.2	2.1	2.5
10.	Wholesale trade	2.0	4.5	1.6	3.1
11.	Chemicals & allied prod. mfg.	2.0	3.0	1.9	3.9
12.	Food & kindred prod. mfg.	2.6	4.7	1.6	2.9
13.	Paper & allied prod. mfg.	1.3	4.0	1.8	3.9
14.	Contract construction	2.1	2.6	3.1	2.9
15.	Lumber & wood prod. mfg.	0.9	3.2	1.9	5.3
16.	Machinery mfg. (non-electrical)	2.4	3.7	2.2	4.1
17.	Electronics mfg.	3.2	4.6	1.9	2.2
18.	Printing & publishing	1.2	3.9	0.8	3.0
19.	Furniture & fixtures mfg.	2.4	4.6	2.5	3.0
20.	Motion pictures, amusements, recreation	3.1	4.5	2.7	2.5
21.	Instruments & related prod. mfg.	3.0	4.8	2.5	3.8
22.	Fabricated metal mfg.	3.0	3.0	3.4	4.1
23.	Transportation	2.3	3.3	3.5	5.5
24.	Rubber & plastic prod. mfg.	3.8	3.6	3.4	2.0
25.	Textile prod. mfg.	3.0	5.1	3.1	4.1
26.	Building materials sales	3.9	7.1	2.3	3.3
27.	Insurance	3.0	7.6	1.8	3.6
28.	Finance	3.4	8.2	3.9	4.2
29.	Misc. services	4.2	10.5	3.0	4.0
30.	Misc. mfg.	5.0	5.6	3.5	6.7
31.	Apparel mfg.	2.8	13.0	2.5	6.8

TABLE 20 (Continued)

	Negro		Puerto Rican	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
32. Educational services	5.5	10.8	3.2	3.7
33. Repair services	5.4	8.0	4.6	6.3
34. Business services	5.1	9.0	3.1	4.0
35. Retail trade	4.9	10.3	2.9	3.8
36. Communications	2.1	17.8	0.8	1.3
37. Leather products mfg.	3.3	11.7	7.9	7.9
38. Personal services	4.0	14.5	9.7	4.3
39. Medical services	12.0	21.4	6.8	5.3
Standard	1.5	4.8	1.2	1.8
All industries a/	3.1	9.6	2.5	3.6

a/ Includes one agricultural establishment not shown separately.

Source: EEO-1 reports.

women were proportionately more important among women than Negro men were among men. In the aggregate, therefore, Negroes comprised a far higher proportion of women than men clerical workers.

F. Women Workers, 1966

Women comprised 47 percent of the white collar labor force among the reporting employers, which was somewhat above their overall proportion of 39 percent among employees of reporting establishments in the city, as Table 21 shows. However, this was essentially due to the overwhelming concentration of women in the office and clerical occupations, among whom they accounted for 69 percent of all employees. Indeed, women accounted for a more than proportionate share of the office and clerical employees in every industry, and for half or more in all but two industries, utilities and transportation.

Among technicians and salesworkers, women were in general only slightly underrepresented but they were considerably underrepresented among professional employees and seriously underrepresented among officials and managers.

TABLE 21

WOMEN AS A PERCENT OF WORKERS IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN NEW YORK CITY, BY INDUSTRY, 1966

	Industry	White Collar, total	Officials and Managers	Profes-sionals	Techni-cians	Sales	Clerical
1.	Contract construction	20.2	2.1	1.4	1.2	2.2	57.1
2.	Utilities & sanitary services	21.3	2.4	4.3	1.6	0.9	47.6
3.	Food & kindred prod. mfg.	27.0	3.2	6.5	8.8	1.8	66.5
4.	Instruments & rel. prod. mfg.	30.1	6.7	7.2	5.1	1.8	70.4
5.	Tobacco mfg.	30.2	2.7	3.5	15.1	2.8	65.9
6.	Transportation	30.5	4.2	2.6	7.4	44.3	47.0
7.	Machinery equipment mfg.	30.5	2.6	2.9	2.4	3.2	62.6
8.	Wholesale trade	30.7	5.5	10.4	4.9	4.9	65.7
9.	Electronics mfg.	30.9	5.3	3.8	6.5	13.3	71.3
10.	Stone, clay & glass prod. mfg.	31.4	4.0	*	*	3.2	69.6
11.	Fabricated metals mfg.	31.5	3.1	4.2	9.3	3.1	68.0
12.	Rubber & plastic prod. mfg.	33.5	3.7	3.9	0.9	0.0	72.2
13.	Primary metals mfg.	33.7	2.4	4.7	5.4	4.8	66.7
14.	Chemicals & allied prod. mfg.	33.7	5.1	6.3	22.4	6.4	72.8
15.	Mining	34.7	1.0	4.9	*	1.3	66.1
16.	Transportation equip. mfg.	35.0	5.2	4.5	10.0	0.0	63.1
17.	Furniture & fixtures mfg.	36.0	4.3	*	*	2.7	74.0
18.	Petroleum & petrol. prod. mfg.	36.2	0.3	7.3	10.1	*	65.1
19.	Apparel mfg.	36.5	8.4	29.1	25.7	6.2	73.4
20.	Leather products mfg.	37.8	7.8	*	*	*	78.6
21.	Misc. services	38.3	18.2	17.7	12.8	38.4	77.2
22.	Paper & allied products mfg.	40.0	6.7	12.5	33.6	4.3	76.7
23.	Miscellaneous mfg.	40.9	9.7	*	4.3	16.9	69.7
24.	Textile products mfg.	40.9	10.9	25.8	33.0	4.7	66.7
25.	Finance	42.4	7.7	11.7	27.2	7.4	53.6
26.	Motion pictures & amusements	43.7	5.1	61.6	10.0	9.8	50.3

TABLE 21 (Continued)

Industry	White Collar, total	Officials and Managers	Profes-sionals	Techni-cians	Sales	Clerical
27. Educational services	44.7	27.4	26.3	48.9	*	80.6
28. Repair services	46.5	2.0	3.3	*	21.0	70.4
29. Lumber & wood products mfg.	47.2	*	*	*	23.4	79.3
30. Legal services	48.1	25.5	6.2	*	*	68.2
31. Printing & publishing	49.4	18.0	40.2	27.0	10.7	72.4
32. Real estate	49.9	3.9	67.2	12.5	*	71.7
33. Building material sales	50.8	*	*	*	33.9	84.2
34. Business services	53.1	14.4	15.5	16.0	17.4	79.1
35. Personal services	53.3	19.8	20.7	7.0	57.5	67.2
36. Insurance	58.3	13.6	11.0	24.6	6.3	78.2
37. Communications	63.0	42.7	14.9	7.5	3.6	89.6
38. Retail trade	66.4	25.1	34.5	23.5	77.6	80.7
39. Medical services	72.4	56.3	48.8	85.1	*	85.2
Standard used	19.5	7.4	9.0	17.0	18.5	19.5
All industries a/	46.7	14.9	18.0	34.1	37.1	69.2

* Less than 100 workers in all in this particular industry and occupational group.

a/ Includes one agricultural establishment, not shown separately.

Source: EEO-1 reports.

However, these patterns varied greatly from industry to industry. In a few industries, there were no women employed as salesworkers, and they were relatively scarce in the majority of other industries. Women were, however, a greater than proportionate share of the sales personnel in transportation, miscellaneous services, personal services, and retailing.

Similarly, there were great differences among industries in terms of the relative importance of women among technicians. Women were uncommonly few among the technicians in a majority of industries employing a significant number of such workers. In two industries - educational and medical services - women accounted for a more than proportionate share of those employed as technicians.

Women were, as noted earlier, significantly underrepresented among professional employees in private enterprises. Among those industries which employed significant numbers of professional workers, the majority employed exceptionally few women professionals, using the average for private establishments as the standard. However, in four industries - printing and publishing, medical services, motion pictures and amusements,

and real estate - a higher than proportionate number of women were employed in professional occupations.

Of all the occupational groups, the lowest proportion of women was found in the managerial occupations. Again, the proportions of women among officials and managers were exceptionally low in the majority of industries. Only communications and medical services employed relatively more women among their managerial employees than the total number of women privately employed in this New York City sample.

IV. Implications

The above findings begin to suggest the nature of the programs which may be developed to promote the increased employment of minority group members in the white collar sector. In general, Negroes and Puerto Ricans have gained a substantial place in the clerical and technical occupations. Minority men have fared less well relative to the majority than have minority women. As a group, however, women were underrepresented in all fields above the clerical level in private employment.

Highest priority should be given to developing programs to promote the increased employment of Negroes and Puerto

Ricans as managers, officials, and salesmen.

In only two industries in New York City were either Negroes or Puerto Ricans employed as either managers or salesmen in proportions greater than they comprised of the total work force. In all New York City there was not a single Negro or Puerto Rican employed in a sales position by the reporting firms in rubber and plastics products manufacturing; stone, clay and glass products manufacturing; transportation equipment manufacturing; or real estate. Not a single Negro was employed as a salesman by the firms in furniture and fixtures manufacturing, primary metals manufacturing, petroleum and petroleum products manufacturing, and instruments and related products manufacturing, although eleven Puerto Ricans were so employed. On the other hand, among the salesmen of reporting leather goods manufacturing and utilities and sanitary services enterprises, there was not a single Puerto Rican and only five Negroes. Not a single Negro or Puerto Rican was employed in a managerial capacity by the reporting firms in lumber and wood products manufacturing or in legal services. No Negro manager was employed in stone, clay, and

glass products manufacturing and no Puerto Rican manager in building materials sales firms.

Secondly, any effort to promote the increased employment of minority groups must take account of the fact that white collar workers are employed in every industry and firm across the city, that the average number of white collar workers per firm is often small, and that many different kinds of workers with a wide variety of specific skills are involved. As Table 16 indicated, the average number of white collar employees per reporting firm came to 191 persons. Even if complete equality in background, desires, and opportunities prevailed, the average firm would employ only about 20 Negroes and 12 Puerto Ricans in white collar jobs, given their relative proportions among private employment in the city. At present, the average establishment employs only 12 Negroes and 6 Puerto Ricans in white collar jobs.

Even more important is the fact that the white collar group is divided up into rather distinct groups in terms of education, skill, and background. The employment structure in the average New York City reporting firm included 31

officials and managers, 27 professionals, 12 technicians, 25 sales workers, and 96 clerical workers. Within each of these major groups, there are many smaller groups with specialized skills and preparation.

Moreover, firms in a given industry sometimes employ a relatively high proportion of a minority group in one occupational group and a low proportion in another occupational group. Even more important is that firms within a given industry may differ greatly among themselves.

For these reasons, efforts to promote more equal employment opportunities in managerial and sales positions might well cut across industry lines and work through management, sales, and related organizations, training institutes and the like. On the other hand, the great differences among firms also calls for a quite selective approach. Such an approach is now possible because of the reports submitted by individual companies which provided original data for this report. These provide the basis for the Commission to identify specifically those individual firms which employ no or few Negroes and Puerto Ricans at each of the various

occupational levels, and to initiate such activities as may be appropriate in the given situation. The point is that the existence of individual firm reports make it no longer necessary to look for "patterns" in order to persuade members of given industries to respond collectively.

This can be illustrated by noting that out of the 4,249 reporting companies in New York City, 1,151 did not employ a single Negro in any capacity, and 1,375 did not employ a single Puerto Rican or other Spanish American. As for white collar workers, 1,827 companies employed not a single Negro in those occupations and 1,936 companies employed not a single Puerto Rican. This comes to over 40 percent of the reporting enterprises, which with few exceptions had more than 50 employees. The large number of companies with no minority group workers in white collar jobs is not a matter of small work groups, as Table 22 makes clear. Among establishments with 20 or more clerical workers, there were 456 which did not employ a single Negro and 558 which did not employ a single Puerto Rican as a clerical worker. The establishments with no minority group workers in clerical occupations were primarily

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS WITH 20 OR MORE CLERICAL EMPLOYEES BUT NOT A SINGLE CLERICAL WORKER FROM SEVERAL MINORITY GROUPS, NEW YORK CITY, 1966

Industry	Number of firms with no clerical worker who was: Negro	Negro Male	Negro Female	Spanish American	Spanish American Male	Spanish American Female
Mining	1	5	5	3	6	6
Contract construction	16	20	20	12	17	16
Food & kindred prod. mfg.	14	29	21	27	39	30
Tobacco mfg.	0	1	0	1	3	1
Textile prod. mfg.	5	12	10	6	14	10
Apparel mfg.	4	14	9	13	22	13
Furniture & fixtures mfg.	3	4	5	2	4	3
Paper & allied prod. mfg.	17	21	20	12	21	15
Printing & publishing	19	36	36	22	44	36
Chemicals & allied prod. mfg.	25	46	32	22	42	25
Petroleum & petrol. prod. mfg.	1	2	2	1	5	1
Rubber & plastic prod. mfg.	3	3	3	2	2	4
Leather products mfg.	1	4	1	1	2	2
Stone, clay & glass prod.	3	7	4	4	7	4
Primary metals mfg.	7	12	12	7	14	10
Fabricated metals mfg.	11	14	17	13	14	16
Machinery mfg. (non-electrical)	4	6	8	8	11	15
Electronics mach. eq., etc. mfg.	11	20	18	21	36	25
Transportation equipment mfg.	6	6	9	5	9	8
Instruments & related prod.	7	11	12	11	15	13
Misc. mfg.	5	8	7	5	12	5
Transportation	44	54	74	35	49	58
Communications	5	8	8	5	14	7
Utilities & sanitary services	1	2	2	1	2	1
Wholesale trade	76	132	110	95	151	131

TABLE 22 (Continued)

Industry	Negro	Negro Male	Negro Female	Spanish American	Spanish American Male	Spanish American Female
Building materials sales	0	0	0	0	1	0
Retail trade	13	40	23	22	51	30
Finance	41	74	96	62	104	104
Insurance	30	60	42	27	72	34
Real estate	4	5	6	7	8	8
Personal services	24	34	26	14	14	19
Business services	16	42	30	29	66	35
Repair services	0	3	0	2	3	2
Motion pictures, amusements	13	17	19	8	15	12
Medical services	9	26	11	22	45	26
Legal services	4	11	8	8	14	11
Educational services	2	6	3	4	7	6
Misc. services	14	35	36	19	58	31
All industries	456	831	745	558	1,013	773

Source: EEO-1 reports.

concentrated in wholesaling, transportation, finance, insurance, chemicals, and personal services.

The search for firms which employ unusually low proportions of minority group personnel may still be made along industrial lines. If so, it might well be directed at the following industries in the following order:

1. Utilities and sanitary services
2. Chemicals and allied products manufacturing
3. Primary metals manufacturing
4. Petroleum and petroleum products manufacturing
5. Mining
6. Transportation
7. Wholesale trade
8. Legal services
9. Tobacco manufacturing
10. Communications
11. Paper and allied products manufacturing
12. Food manufacturing
13. Real estate
14. Machinery manufacturing (non-electrical)
15. Transportation equipment manufacturing
16. Stone, clay and glass products manufacturing
17. Wholesale trade
18. Fabricated metals manufacturing
19. Lumber and wood products manufacturing

In many of these industries, the establishments in New York City are undoubtedly primarily headquarters, sales, and similar offices. Each of the above industries employs an unusually small proportion of either or both Negroes and

Puerto Ricans in white collar occupations. Their ranking is based on a number of factors, including the degree to which they employ a low proportion of minority workers in white collar jobs; the extent to which this pattern was consistent among different minority groups and occupational levels; the total number of white collar workers in the industry; and the number of white collar workers per firm in the industry.

In dealing with industries and firms which employ relatively few minority manpower in white collar jobs, it will be necessary to stress not only initial hiring, but also access to means to gain the skills and experience necessary to move into managerial, professional, and sales occupations. This involves gaining admission to training programs and career ladders within enterprises which lead from technical and clerical positions upward. Most secretaries, bookkeepers, and accountants are developed through internal promotion and employer sponsored training. Most managers and as many as a third of all engineers do not have formal training for their occupations. Rather they have moved upward on the basis of on-the-job training, night school, independent study, support

by superiors, and individual initiative. Promotions for managers and salesmen are by no means as systematic as in the case of many blue collar workers, and this presents special problems in maintaining equal opportunity for advancement.

Clearly, however, formal education is a great help for gaining the better managerial, professional, and sales jobs in large organizations, particularly those which are based on a highly developed or advancing technology. This points to the necessity for enlarged opportunities for college and graduate study in the city and state university system and elsewhere. In particular, schools and universities must make increased efforts to persuade and support potential college and graduate students from among minority groups.

It would also appear desirable to undertake efforts to take advantage of the increased numbers of potential managerial and sales personnel who are already occupied in those enterprises which have moved most aggressively to employ and develop minority workers in white collar jobs. In particular, serious consideration should be given to the recruitment of potential or developed minority group managerial, professional,

and sales personnel from the Federal, state, and local governments, the armed forces, and selected industries and private and nonprofit enterprises for the purpose of employment in firms and industries which have few high level minority group employees. A major route for advancement for those in higher level occupations is to move into new and somewhat risky situations.

It also appears advisable to forcefully bring to the attention of minority group youngsters the extent to which opportunities in the white collar sector are already open to them in New York City. Materials might well be prepared identifying those industries and firms which employ relatively large numbers and proportions of minority group members. This could be very useful in more effectively counseling young people in terms of the opportunities which have already opened up. The likelihood of even further advances where few minority group members are now employed should also be constantly kept in mind.

V. Open Questions

This study represents the first attempt to prepare a comprehensive analysis of white collar employment patterns for minorities in any major city. It represents a step forward in the continuing effort to promote more equal employment patterns for all. New York City is a white collar city. In it, moreover, minority groups comprise a larger proportion of white collar workers than in nearly every other metropolitan area. New York is clearly the leader when one considers the relative size of minority groups in its labor force. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is great room for further progress.

This report primarily outlines the patterns which exist. It does not indicate how these patterns occur, in a dynamic sense, nor how problems might be ameliorated. The present section lists a suggested agenda of questions which should be explored if the dynamics of the white collar labor market in relation to minority groups is to be better understood.

(a) How do white-collar workers find their jobs? How important are want-ads, private employment agencies, public employment services, direct applications, assistance by

friends and relatives, employer recruitment at schools, and the like? Are members of minority groups any more or less likely to be located by each of these different methods? To what extent do employers use recruiting methods which almost guarantee they will see relatively few members of minority groups, as by recruiting through suburban or outlying schools or among the friends and relatives of present employees? To what extent do private employment agencies actively seek out minority persons for white collar work?

(b) What specific white collar jobs do minority group members in fact locate? How many are in firms owned by or primarily serving members of the same minority groups? Do minority group members obtain relatively more white collar jobs in small or large firms and agencies? Do the jobs they obtain lead to promotion ladders, or are they "dead-end" jobs? Do they involve dealing with the public? Are they highly routinized and perhaps very subject to displacement by automation and computerization?

(c) What is the experience of white collar minority workers with respect to promotion? How many become supervisors

and move on to minor executive posts? How fast do their salaries move up, relative to whites?

(d) What are the implications for minority groups of the tendency for large firms to increasingly rely on other service firms for white collar functions? Are a firm's own employees more or less likely to be Negro or Puerto Rican than the employees of firms supplying office temporaries, accounting and other technical services, miscellaneous business services, and the like?

(e) To what extent do various types of educational and training programs in high schools, private schools, junior and senior colleges, and private institutions provide trained manpower for various white collar occupations?

(f) What is the racial composition of students in college preparatory, general, and various occupational programs in the city school systems? In the various parochial and private school systems? In various private profit and nonprofit secretarial and similar schools? In the various junior and senior colleges and their programs? In the various special programs organized by governmental agencies?

(g) In particular, how well are minority group young people being developed for professional and managerial occupations by the primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions of the city?

(h) What is the placement experience of majority and minority groups from these programs? Do minority group members with general education rather than specific training obtain white collar jobs as easily as majority group members with similar backgrounds?

(i) How well do minority group members fare in being selected for initial placement, for on-the-job training programs, and for advancement in clerical, sales, and managerial employment?

(j) How well do minority persons who are graduates of high schools, colleges, and other white collar training institutions in other parts of the United States fare when they enter the New York labor market?

(k) What have been the experiences of members of minority groups with respect to the establishment and growth of their own firms?

Research agendas can be endless and there is no point in further extending this one. The purpose of the present report has been to illuminate those areas in which action toward improved employment opportunities is more likely to produce results. The preceding data are adequate for the initiation of action programs on an extensive basis. Improvement in white collar employment opportunities in New York City will also point the way for similar efforts in other major cities throughout the country.

The key importance of New York City as a model for the nation should be constantly kept in mind. New York is the leading center for corporate headquarters. It may be useful as a matter of corporate policy to increase the employment of minority group members in these corporate headquarters as a demonstration for their units in the rest of the country as well as for visitors from abroad. If national and international corporations can be persuaded to initiate such efforts, it may be a decisive step in the direction of a truly multiracial democracy in the United States.